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United States
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Southern Region

Chattahoochee-
Oconee
National Forests

A Cultural Geography for the Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forests

A CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY FOR THE CHATTAHOOCHEE-OCONEE NATIONAL FORESTS

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EXERPTED FROM "A SOCIO-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW FOR THE CHATTAHOOCHEE-OCONEE NATIONAL FORESTS," 1981

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Physiography
The Blue Ridge..... 2
The Armuchee..... 2
The Piedmont Plateau..... 2
Atlanta..... 4

Cultural History
Prehistoric and Contact Periods..... 5
The North Georgia Mountains..... 5
The Armuchee Valleys..... 9
The Piedmont Plateau.....11
Segregation and Integration.....13
Atlanta.....15

A Cultural Description: 1980
The Mountains.....16
The Armuchee.....22
The Piedmont.....24

Forest Service Ties to the Public
Historic Background.....27
Timber Today.....28
Forest Service Employment.....30
Recreation.....30
Some Socio-Economic Effects.....31

Summary
Chattahoochee Descriptors.....34
Oconee Descriptors.....47

Bibliography.....53

INTRODUCTION

This Cultural Geography is a presentation of current social and economic situations in North Georgia communities near National Forest land. It is based on cultural history and available economic data. It is intended as a picture of the past and present. It also shows the relationships between the Forest Service and the people within its sphere of influence.

Considerable study was made of several alternatives for handling the data. Due to the many similarities in the topography, social history, and population of the Chattahoochee National Forest, located within the Blue Ridge Mountains, it was treated as one unit. The isolated Armuchee Ranger District, located in the Ridge and Valley Physiographic Province, became a second unit. The Oconee National Forest, located entirely in the Piedmont Physiographic Province, formed a third unit, and the Atlanta metropolitan area formed a fourth.

The people and institutions in each area share characteristics which tend to bind them together, yet distinguish them from each other. For example, tourism and local vs. outsider attitudes show markedly in the mountains. The strongest "binder" in the Armuchee is the carpet industry. The Oconee population is bi-racial and oriented to the timber industry. Most of these three groups are rural people, whereas the Atlanta metropolitan population is urban.

On the following pages you will find a physical description of the area, a short cultural history, and a description of the 1980 social situation. This overview concludes with an examination of the relationship between the various "publics" and the Forest Service.

Since this is an exerpt from a longer work entitled "Socio-economic Overview of the Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forests," the references have been deleted in the interests of easier reading. Anyone desiring to pursue the points made herein may refer to the Bibliography or to the original text.

PHYSIOGRAPHY

The Chattahoochee and Oconee National Forests are located within three of the major physiographic provinces of northern Georgia. They have been described quite adequately by Wharton (see Bibliography) and will only be outlined here. The whole area lies in the Appalachian Highlands, above Georgia's Fall Line. Wharton's physiographic map (Map 1) is reproduced by permission of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources.

The Blue Ridge

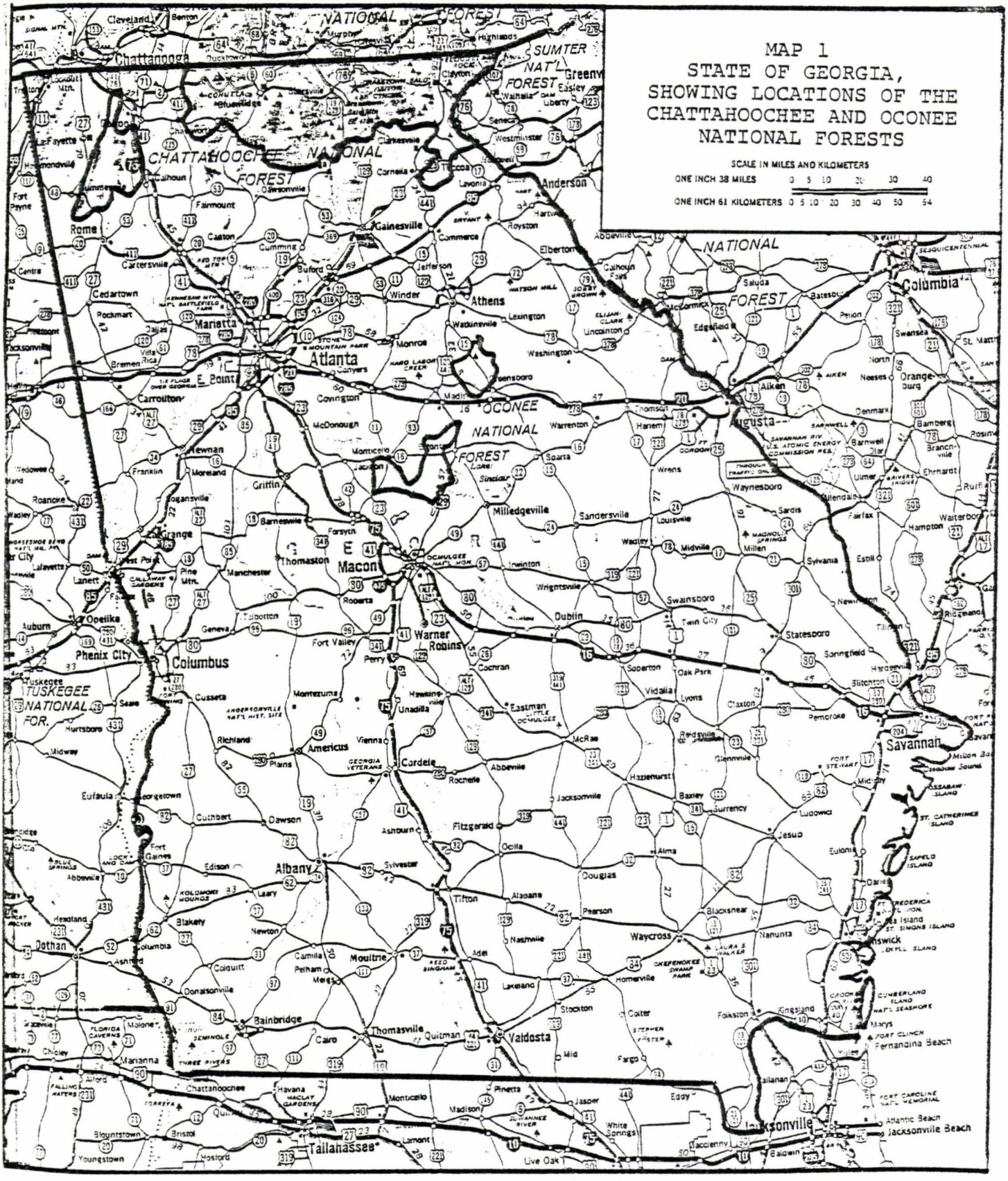
The major concentration of the Chattahoochee National Forest lies in the Blue Ridge Province. This includes the Blue Ridge and Cohutta Mountains and stretches from the Carolina border into Eastern Murray County and south into Lumpkin and Dawson Counties. Most of the Blue Ridge Province is north draining; being served by the Little Tennessee, Hiawassee, and Nottley Rivers. The remainder slopes southward; drained by the Chattahoochee, Chestatee, Chattooga-Tugaloo, and Ellijay-Coosawatee Rivers. The steep terrain is mostly wooded with second- or third-growth hardwoods, pines, and thickets of rhododendron and mountain laurel.

The Armuchee

The Armuchee Ranger District is located primarily in the Ridge-and-Valley Province in northwest Georgia. This province is composed of long parallel ridges, tending northeast-southwest to nearly north-south. The ridges are steep-sided with long, broad valleys between them. Most of the drainage is to the south and southwest, via the Chattooga, Oostanaula, and Conasauga Rivers. These are all part of the Coosa system which also drains much of Central Alabama. The northeast and southwest trending of the mountain ridges isolates this northwest corner from the rest of Georgia. The Armuchee Ridges are separated from the rest of the topography by two wider valleys, the Chickamauga on the west and the Great Valley on the east. No Forest Service holdings lie in these larger valleys.

The Piedmont Plateau

The Oconee National Forest is located on the Central Piedmont Plateau, about equally distant from the cities of Atlanta, Macon, and Athens. This is an area of rolling, red, sandy clay hills. It is drained by two major rivers, the Oconee and Ocmulgee. Currently, the area is heavily covered in pine and mixed hardwood. The historical evidence indicates that


MAP 1
STATE OF GEORGIA,
SHOWING LOCATIONS OF THE
CHATTAHOOCHEE AND OCONEE
NATIONAL FORESTS
SCALE IN MILES AND KILOMETERS
ONE INCH 38 MILES 0 5 10 20 30 40
ONE INCH 61 KILOMETERS 0 5 10 20 30 40 50 64
CHATTAHOOCHEE NATIONAL FOREST
OCONEE NATIONAL FOREST
SUMTER NAT'L FOREST
TUSKEGEE NATIONAL FOR.
Chattanooga
Atlanta
Columbus
Macon
Athens
Augusta
Savannah
Albany
Valdosta
Tallahassee
Jacksonville
Rome
Gainesville
Anderson
Columbia
Aiken
Dothan
Thomasville
Bainbridge
Waycross
Brunswick
Fernandina Beach
Jacksonville Beach

much of the land once supported deciduous hardwood forests. Old field terraces are visible on much of the land. These terraces were part of the intensive cotton production that occurred in this area from 1800 until 1930-35, when most of the topsoil had been exhausted and eroded away. Vast amounts of the land were abandoned in the 1930's allowing perhaps 75% of the terrain to return to secondary forest. Brender estimated that the secondary forest which gradually reclaimed the old farm fields was over half pine.

The three cities and their supporting populations mentioned above are also located on or at the edge of the Piedmont. Their initial inceptions were partially dictated by the topography and today they are centers of economic and social activity which draw upon and effect much of the State.

Atlanta

Atlanta, an urban area of five or more counties and approximately 1.7 million people, is located on rolling hills along a major watershed divide in the Piedmont. The eastern drainage of the metropolitan complex is into the tributaries of the Ocmulgee. Western and southern drainage is into tributaries of the Flint-Chattahoochee. From the Atlanta Metropolitan Area, one can reach all the National Forest lands in the State within 3 hours. The interstate highway system, developing beltways, and major mountain highways will provide increasingly easy access to the Forests.

CULTURAL HISTORY

Basic history texts for Georgia generally give little attention to the Appalachian mountain areas after the discovery of gold in the Dahlonega area and the expulsion of the Cherokees in the 1830's. Several recent books describe the culture of the Southern Appalachians. These form a basis for parts of this chapter. A short outline history of the Appalachian and Piedmont areas follows to provide background for the social and economic observations of this overview.

Prehistoric and Contact Periods

Current archaeological knowledge indicates that North Georgia has been occupied continuously for at least 10,000 years by a succession of cultural groups. These groups ranged from tiny nomadic hunter-gatherer bands to sophisticated farming societies with highly organized political and economic systems.

The earliest cultural contacts between the indigenous Cherokees and Creeks and Europeans were by the Spanish explorers such as DeSoto in 1539-40 and Juan Pardo in 1556. One major effect of these early visits was extensive disruption and death from European diseases for which the American Indians had no natural immunities. Population shifts and restructured social organizations resulted from the massive population losses. Thus the societies described by later visitors and settlers were drastically altered from their previous conditions.

Europeans visiting in North Georgia prior to its intensive settlement by whites included, besides DeSoto and Juan Pardo, Tristan de Lunay Arellano in 1560 and Irish trader Cornelius Daughtery in the 1690's. In 1733 the Georgia Colony was established on the coast and relations with the Indians vacillated between war and peaceful coexistence. Explorations and mapping expeditions included both trade and battles between the Europeans and the Indians. In 1775-76, naturalist William Bartram crossed Georgia from the fall line to the northeast corner of the State.

The North Georgia Mountains

During the 17th and 18th centuries, gradual expansion and intrusion into Indian territory took place. The Europeans sought to explore, trap, trade, then gradually settle into the areas they thought of as "empty." The land was in fact occupied by people who utilized sophisticated farming techniques in the river basins and flood plains. Hunting and

collecting wild foods and other necessary materials was done in the woodlands and hill country.

The discovery in the 1820's of gold in the North Georgia mountains combined with the avarice of the white settlers destroyed the Cherokee's sophisticated systems of government, justice and communication. With the destruction of Cherokee control over North Georgia, the area was designated Cherokee County by the Georgia Legislature. The expulsion of the Cherokees by the U.S. Army under General Winfield Scott followed in 1838. This forced expulsion is known as the "Trail of Tears" during which over 4,000 Cherokees died as they marched to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). The land was surveyed and the gold-producing portions were divided into 40-acre gold lots. Other portions were marked off into 160- and 490-acre land lots. These were then given away in land lotteries. Many of the winners of the properties never saw their land. They simply sold it to speculators who held it for resale. For the most part, only the already cleared flood plains were initially occupied by the whites, in the same locations where the Cherokees had farmed and lived. Most of the mountainsides appeared too steep for farming and were left to the animals, both wild and domestic.

Many early settlers in the Georgia mountain areas were of Scotch-Irish descent, bringing with them a strong ethic of self-sufficiency and willingness to work hard. They farmed the valleys and maintained cattle, sheep, and hogs in the wooded hills, which were thought of as common property. Hunting was heavy in the wooded areas; so much so that by the late 1800's most of the larger game was hunted out and the fish were exhausted from the rivers. Repeated farming on the same spots exhausted the soil so that an individual might "wear out" two or three farms in a lifetime. He then moved on to another area to repeat the cycle of clearing and farming, draining the soil of nutrients, and then moving on again.

The mountain counties had few slaves since the terrain did not provide open spaces for cotton production. Stronger feelings also existed among the mountain people against the institution of slavery and some tended to ally themselves with Northern interests during that period. Black populations have remained low in the mountains, just as they have remained high in the Piedmont counties, despite several generations of migration.

Following the practice of the Indians, the white settlers continued to burn portions of the woodlands regularly thus providing new growth for deer and other game. This cleared much of the undergrowth but may have damaged the timber or at least controlled the growth patterns artificially. As Alter puts it, "If the Indians did burn the woods with regularity during their time in this area, it is a mystery how the hardwood

stands survived." The whites' use of fire was more destructive since they set fires to kill ticks, to green up the woods for their herds, to make chestnut harvesting easier, or just to smell the leaf smoke. This frequent burning further removed the ground cover already reduced through heavy logging and farming. Erosion and flooding resulting from these abuses can be seen today in the lack of topsoil on the hillsides and in the large quantities of colluvium in the flood plains.

In the early 1900's the big timber companies, such as Pfister and Vogel, bought up large tracts of land and began to log the entire territory. They built rail lines to carry the logs to mills and shipping locations. Their efforts were fairly damaging, taking out the best timber in the area and injuring much of what remained. The cut-over land eroded rapidly.

Lumbering operations were of vital importance to the mountain people as major sources of jobs. Additionally, the local farmers knew that a harvest of corn and other vegetables could provide food for the family and a cash source. Transporting corn over the mountains to sell was a difficult process and the low prices received tended to discourage all but the most determined. In a liquid form, the prices received made the difficulty of transporting "moonshine" well worth the necessary risks with the law. Many families did, however, have men who were "building time" in the penitentiaries for their efforts. In most cases little local cultural stigma was attached to such incarceration.

By 1930, timber harvests and the chestnut blight had removed the major hardwood stands. The large timber companies ceased operations, took down their mills and rail lines, and left the area. The timber boom was over and the major source of income for the area was again farming and moonshining. This was also the beginning of the Great Depression and many people went to the cities and towns in search of work. They sold out their land (in farmed-out tracts) to larger land holders or the Federal Government for three to seven dollars per acre, which at the time was reasonable. When the farmers arrived in the urban areas and discovered there were no jobs to be had the money did not last long supporting their families. In effect, "they ate up the land" and had nowhere to turn. In desperation, some people returned to the land from which they had come and reoccupied the buildings as "squatters." Finally, Government land managers determined that the only way to maintain control of the newly acquired land was to automatically tear down any standing buildings as soon as they were acquired. The Civilian Conservation Corps provided jobs for many young men in the 1930's, alleviating some employment problems. They were the ones who cleared away many of the old structures. In some cases, they left only vegetation patterns to indicate where the buildings had stood.

The general exodus from the mountains, which began in the 1920's, continued until after World War II. In fact, many of the mountain counties have had very low populations until recently. Population growth in some mountain counties continues to be slow, as it does in some Piedmont counties.

Blacks form the second cultural group living in the mountain counties. As mentioned above, their number has always been small. Originally coming in as slaves of the whites, and later of the wealthier Cherokees, they were primarily farming and milling labor with a few house-servants. After Emancipation, many left the area. Apparent opportunities in northern urban areas drained many blacks from all over the South. Those who remained in the mountains continued on wages in much the same occupations as before: farming, milling, blacksmithing, etc. Passage of restrictive laws, detailed in the section on the Piedmont below, and several incidents of inter-racial strife in the 1930's led many more blacks to leave. The result is that very few blacks remain in several of the North Georgia counties and none in others. General census data frequently does not break down employment or other statistics on the black communities because they form such a small minority of the mountain population. Larger concentrations of blacks can be found in areas with higher than average industrial development, Stephens, Whitfield, and Hall counties.

The Cherokee Indians make up a third cultural element in the Georgia mountains. There were both wealthy and poor Cherokees prior to the "Trail of Tears" in the 1830's. Some of the wealthy Indians even owned slaves. After the Removal, some Cherokees returned and were gradually assimilated into the white culture. Today there is a small concentration of Cherokees in the Davis District of Lumpkin County. Other Cherokees are scattered throughout the Chattahoochee. An estimated 200-300 bona fide Cherokees, registered with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, are currently petitioning for Federal recognition as the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians under leadership of Thomas Mote. Their activities are centered around Davis Chapel and Cemetery in Lumpkin County. About 700 more individuals also claim Cherokee heritage but do not have BIA registration numbers. Georgia Cherokees have European names (Davis, Martin, etc.) and a wide range of physical characteristics; red or blonde hair and blue eyes are not uncommon. In the past Indian heritage might be denied in order to attend schools or obtain jobs. Today Indian employment prospects in plants and businesses are similar to those for the rest of the population although some discrimination continues to exist in other economic and social aspects of life. Standards of living and educational levels range widely. Some families are well educated and respected while others are barely educated and have a much lower income level. Dependence upon forest resources is important as there are both

self-employed and wage-earning Cherokees involved in the timber, logging, and pulpwood industries. However, actual employment figures on this group are unavailable. Firewood is also a vital interest, as are the wildlife areas.

The Armuchee Valleys

The Armuchee Ranger District is separated from remainder of the Chattahoochee because of the physical separation of this area, the different physical environment (a ridge and valley complex), and the different base of employment and social orientations of the people.

Historically there was relatively little major fighting during the Civil War period in the northeastern part of the State, but the Armuchee area saw several major operations, including Sherman's famous march. The battles of Chickamauga and Resaca, for control of the rail line from Chattanooga to Atlanta, left a number of scars on both land and people. During the depression people moved into the cities seeking industrial jobs. Only a few people were successful. However, many had sold their land to the Federal government and had no place to return to.

The Federally-owned land in this area is very fragmented, primarily occupying the upper slopes and ridges. The valleys between them are occupied by private owners where some farming and cattle raising is still carried on. Most families living either in rural or urban areas have depended on the carpet industry for at least the last 20 years. Before that, agriculture was the predominant industry.

Farming continues to be a major interest although its prime importance is social rather than economic today. The concern may simply be to maintain contact with the land. In addition to gossiping and trading stories of the fish that got away, the size of one's vegetables or the condition of one's garden are regular sources of conversation at informal social gatherings, which take place in country stores, small cafes, and on the courthouse steps.

Most residents of the Armuchee area were reared in a rural atmosphere and pursue basically rural ideals and norms. Having been raised on farms and continuing to live in rural areas, their interests are in fishing, hunting, hiking, and general outdoor activities.

The few full-time farmers who remain are operating on a much larger scale than those of the past generation. Three farms in the West Armuchee Valley have more crop land (600 to 1,000 acres) than all the land farmed in that valley in 1940 according to one local source. Another resident commented that "It is simply not possible to make it without being big." These big operators raise cash crops such as soy

beans which require large outlays of money for equipment. They likewise depend upon national and international markets. Fluctuations in market prices have drastic effects on the local farmers.

The individuals living in this area tend to identify themselves with the area rather than with a particular industry or job. They think of themselves as "valley people" rather than "mountain people". They do maintain the conservative attitudes and cautious approach to outsiders which is seen in the mountains.

There are no incorporated communities within the proclamation boundaries of the Armuchee District but several towns are just outside the boundary. These include LaFayette, Dalton, Calhoun, Ringgold, Summerville, and Trion. These towns range in population from 1,800 to 20,000; Ringgold being the smallest and Dalton the largest. A number of smaller, unincorporated communities also exist in and around the District. Urban concentrations important to this area are Chattanooga, Tennessee, north of the state line, and Rome, Georgia, 20-30 miles south.

The principal employment centers for people living in the Armuchee area include all the towns listed above with major concentrations in Dalton and Chattanooga. A large portion of the carpet industry in the United States is centered at Dalton in Whitfield County. Recent census data show that Whitfield County population increased about 19.3% between 1970 and 1980. The area population increase shows more dramatically in the eastward "spill over" into Murray County which grew from 12,986 to 19,654 (51.3%) in that same period.

Within the past 20 years the tendency has been to move away from urban areas and into the countryside. Thus there is an increase in population density around Dalton, Chattanooga, and Rome. This movement from urban to rural areas is greeted with some concern by the traditionally rural folk. They hate to see the property broken into small pieces as they and their neighbors sell farm lots to outsiders. This increases the number of neighbors and thereby increases the numbers of interpersonal and social problems. The opportunity to gain money from the sale of the property does seem, however, to override the concerns with the increasing population.

There are relatively few second-home concentrations and no major second-home or resort developments in the Armuchee. Housing complexes have not been built away from urban centers but Dalton is developing large condominium and apartment complexes within the city limits. These are located with easy access to I-75 on the west side of town. This highway is the main connector between Dalton and Chattanooga and

most of the "good ole boys and girls" who are looking for entertainment usually go to Chattanooga. One can also make excellent time to Atlanta on I-75 to shop. I-75 also carries a steady stream of trucks with goods produced in the Dalton mills to Atlanta markets for sale or transshipment.

The consolidated educational facilities of the Armuchee area are similar to those in the Chattahoochee, with secondary education concentrated in the county seats. Two year post-secondary educational institutions include vocational-technical schools in Jasper, Dalton Junior College, and Reinhardt College. Shorter and Berry Colleges at Rome provide four-year college programs. Graduates of the junior colleges can proceed to the University of Tennessee in Chattanooga (UT-C). Although UT-C is much more convenient, and the prevailing desires would keep high school graduates close to home, the prospect of paying out-of-state tuition there encourages Georgia students to use in-state schools.

The religious orientation in the Armuchee area is basically Protestant; predominantly Baptist and Methodist. There is a recent influx of Seventh Day Adventists into the Ellijay-Chatsworth area. Additionally there are a few Jehovah's Witnesses in the area who are slowly becoming accepted in the communities.

The Piedmont Plateau

Standard histories and popular depictions of Georgia usually describe the history of the political, economic, and social activities of the Piedmont. The majority of the population and the State's wealth were involved, by the early part of the 19th century, in the cotton plantation system. A map of the State's population in 1810 shows that the heaviest concentration was in the Piedmont counties, though these areas were still not very densely settled. The State Capital was located at Milledgeville until 1868 and much of the economic and political activity was there. Most of the farms, industrial complexes, and railroads were in this area through the 19th Century. Maps of the railroads in 1860 show only one line running northward into the Rome-Dalton-Chattanooga (Armuchee) area, and another from Savannah and Brunswick to Thomasville across the Coastal Plain. The rest were mostly in the Piedmont. This railroad system, "second only to Virginia in the whole South," was the key to the State's prosperity, as well as the route of her destruction during the Civil War. Federal military campaigns generally followed the major rail lines northwestsoutheast from Chattanooga through Atlanta and Milledgeville to Savannah.

From 1820 through 1860, the population steadily increased, and the balance of races was close with whites slightly

outnumbering blacks State-wide. Some counties, however, had more blacks than whites. While not all Georgia agriculture in the pre-war period was slave-labor, the vast majority of the acreage was so managed. About half of the farms in the State were small-holdings of less than 100 acres and without slaves. These farms produced cotton as a cash crop and just enough vegetables and livestock to get by when cotton prices were down. Corn also provided a second cash crop for some of the larger plantations. This diversification provided stability in the face of the wild swings of the cotton market prices. Mills situated on the many falls and dammed stream ponds produced quantities of wheat flour and corn meal. Saw-mills scattered around the State produced lumber for local use and export, supporting the big Savannah lumber market of the 1850's.

The sharecropping system, which developed after the Civil War as a method of economic production, affected both whites and blacks. The system rose from the peculiar Southern land and labor situation: large landholdings, little capital, and a huge reservoir of labor specialized in little else besides cotton cropping. The sharecropping legacy of poverty, fatalism and a low level of education continued haunting the poorer classes, both black and white, well into the late 20th Century.

The growth in the late 19th Century of the mills, tanneries and brickyards provided certain industrial impetus for Georgia by providing employment for large numbers of semi-skilled and unskilled laborers. Education was available for middle- and upper-class whites, mostly as private "academies," across the State before the Civil War. But the educational system broke down during the War. It was revived in the late 1870's and gradually expanded after the Morrell Acts of the 1880's to include publicly funded higher education for both races.

In the half-century between 1890 and 1940, two major depressions occurred; in 1893 and 1929. Several problems combined in this period: exhausted land over-worked by cotton, the disaster of the boll weevil, high cost of farm credit, low interest in producing foodstuffs coupled with a lack of efficient transportation for perishable goods, and a lack of attachment of tenant farmers for the land they farmed. Together these problems produced a 1940 situation not very much different from that of 1890.

Not until the New Deal measures began to take hold in the late 1930's and 1940's did change begin to benefit farmers. Longterm farm credit improved and the arrival of rural electricity (REA) cooperatives brought power to the farms. Gradual farm product diversification began to pay off in the 1930's and 1940's. Cotton declined as the major cash crop and foodstuffs, including livestock and poultry, began to be produced in greater quantities. Textile and other manufacturing

expanded during the period, partly stimulated by World Wars I and II, and heavy union activity in the North. These mills were not necessarily concentrated in the urban areas but were scattered along the Fall Line and in certain of the upland towns such as Rome, Canton, Dalton, and Gainesville. Efforts at union organization in these mills went generally unrewarded although some strikes did close mills from time to time. The Georgia mill wages in 1929 were only a bit over half what they were elsewhere in the country.

Segregation and Integration

After Reconstruction, the relationship between the races appeared to harden. The passage of segregationist Jim Crow laws begun in 1891 may simply have codified the separation of races then existent but these laws also victimized the blacks. Black boycotts proved only fleetingly effective and the rise of white groups such as the second Ku Klux Klan emphasized racist feelings in the State. State voting laws essentially disenfranchised blacks (and to some extent, uneducated whites) and their economic losses increased. The majority of black Georgians were relegated to agricultural labor or domestic servant status; basically where blacks had been since arrival on the continent a century before. The situation in Atlanta was only slightly better. The flight northward to industrial jobs helped only slightly as the black population maintained its number just under those of the whites. They continued to be second-class citizens, a caste apart.

Reaction to the oppression of the segregation laws ranged widely. These included a Return to Africa Movement, and accomodation, stressing vocational education and morality, quietly espoused by Booker T. Washington. Occasional protest efforts were sparked by sociologist W.E.B. DuBois, who held that equality would only be gained through actively protesting the status quo.

Black social institutions gained strength as adaptive measures, beginning with the churches, mostly Baptist and Methodist. Additionally, social and political clubs, beneficent societies, and fraternal orders like the Negro Masons, Odd Fellows, and the NAACP began to exert efforts to solve some social problems. They founded orphanages, neighborhood unions, kindergartens and day nurseries, and health clinics.

The 20th Century racial caste system in the South came to be accepted by most whites and many blacks as reality. To some it provided a kind of stability in a world changing through two world wars. For blacks the rigors of racial separation became more and more onerous and continuously restrictive, especially to black WW II veterans returned home. As W.F. Holmes has put it, "Just as many blacks did not realize the

social and psychological importance that large numbers of whites assigned to segregation, many whites failed to comprehend the enormous burdens segregation placed on the aspirations of blacks." The frantic efforts by elected state officials following the Brown vs. Board of Education decision to preserve the segregation concept in Georgia life seem as ludicrous in retrospect as they were unconstitutional. However, they were the last ditch attempts to preserve a lifeway which was changing more rapidly than they could control. Atlanta Constitution Editor Ralph McGill warned, "Someday, it's going to be Monday"--the Supreme Court's Decision Day. "Finally it was Monday;" the changes that rang from that day in May 1954 were profound in southern society. Even though the changes were to advance with what the court called "all deliberate speed," the phrase came to be interpreted in the South as "as slowly as possible," or simply "never!" Yet the changes came.

The confrontations at schools, buses, and lunch counters all across the South gradually brought the awakening of feelings within the white populations that change had to come. The solutions are not complete even yet, as de facto segregation continues throughout the South. Laws, rules and regulations have been changed, but the feelings and attitudes acquired in the raising and educating of two, three, or more generations take much longer to evolve than simply the passage of laws. C. P. Roland observed that "The vast majority of the members of the two races lived as far apart in the 1970's as they had in the 1940's. Possibly farther apart." Many blacks have taken advantage of the enormously expanded educational and economic opportunities available to them but there is still a long way to go.

With more and better-educated representation at the Federal, State, and local levels, blacks began to receive a greater share of the wealth and opportunities the Nation and the State had to offer. Through improved education and increased participation of social and service organizations, the lot of the poor, black and white, in rural communities continues to improve as barriers fall one by one.

The growing urbanism of the population and the concentration of economic and political power in the cities has left the rural areas somewhat behind the rest of the State, even though the major products of the Georgia economy are still largely agricultural. Expansion of small industries in the rural areas has helped to alleviate a shortage of jobs for the semi-skilled and unskilled. Furthermore, some of these industries are training local personnel in special skill areas to take advantage of the lower wages in the South.

Atlanta

Atlanta has always been "different" from the rest of the state. While definitely "Deep South," it was and is progressive in thoughts and activities. As an educational center for blacks and whites, the city also became a symbol of gradual, if somewhat superficial, attitude changes. In short, the people of Atlanta see themselves as direct participants in national and international events and attitudes.

A CULTURAL DESCRIPTION: 1980

A description of the "publics" or sub-cultures within the area served by the National Forests in Georgia presents an interesting challenge. There are three major territorial segments which are treated separately: (A) The Blue Ridge Mountains; (B) The Armuchee Valleys; (C) The Piedmont. Each of these areas has its own sub-groups which are described in detail based on available published data and interviews conducted for this report.

A. The Mountains. In the mountains, the public can be divided into two major groups, (1) permanent residents and (2) temporaries. Each of these groups is sub-divided, for the following discussion.

1. Permanent Residents. The permanent residents of the mountain counties include people who live there year round. Their livelihoods and lifeways are perhaps most directly influenced by the large Federally-managed landholdings surrounding them. Three sub-groups of permanent residents coexist with varying degrees of friction and cooperation. The number in each group is constantly shifting as is their control over their own way of life.

a. Mountaineers. The local, cultural mountaineers have been characterized in reports, novels, movies and television programs. However this depiction is not always accurate or fair. These are farmers at heart. They are generally conservative-thinking people who have been isolated from the outside world by difficulties of communication and transportation. They have held to and been supported by a fundamentalist Protestant religious background which has produced a certain amount of fatalism in their outlook. Many were loggers in the 1920's, as employees of the large logging companies. These companies cut over extensive terrain for choice timber, rolled and floated it to hundreds of railroad "dummy" lines and shipped it elsewhere. This was basically an exploitative "boom and bust" process which ended in the mid-twenties and resulted in economic collapse in many small communities.

The mountaineers learned before, but continue to battle against, the fact that "you can't make a living as a farmer anymore." They are basically outdoor people who must look to other sources of income. Now they are dependent upon factories for a 40-hour week living wage. Still they maintain small household or truck gardens for the pleasure of working the soil. Thus they provide the fresh produce which they

enjoy and depend upon. Their recreational pursuits include hunting, fishing, church activities, school and plant league sports, and outside travel. They use the National Forests, which account for a high percentage of land in the mountain counties, for free fuelwood, special uses such as springs and pipeline crossings, and for hiking, camping, hunting and fishing. They also use Georgia Power and Tennessee Valley Authority lakes for boating, fishing, and waterskiing.

Local community members depend on each other as a social and economic bulwark against adversity. Outsiders are accepted when and if they show a willingness to be "good neighbors." However, some resistance remains to the numbers and influence of outsiders. Posting of land, instigated by outsiders, is now being practiced by locals in response to increased vandalism and unwanted hunters. Within this group are what Boland et al. call "unwitting exploiters:" local officials who see incoming changes (plants and tourists) as welcome relief for longstanding hardships. They often fail to foresee the adverse socio-economic effects of those economic developments.

b. "Florida People." The second sub-group of the permanent residents are new immigrants. These outsiders, or "Florida people," have settled into the communities to stay. Some originated in the northeastern or north-central states and retired to Florida. After a period of retirement and adjustment there, these people realized that they missed the seasonal changes. Also, their "paradise" in South Florida was becoming more like the crowded, urban, costly places they had left. Recently, the influx of the "Cubians" into South and Central Florida has increased the flight of the retirees northward again. Legends and popularizations of Appalachia as a quiet, forested, undeveloped area with cool summers and a quiet, conservative, uncomplicated culture have brought many to North Georgia. Originally, low prices for land and homes were an attraction. However, general inflation and artificially inflated land and housing costs have made price less of a drawing factor.

These new immigrants appear to seek less crowded surroundings but frequently settle into small enclaves in the mountain towns. As more arrive they are finding that the same problems of crowding and rising prices have followed them here. The retirees purchase land from local developers and often "post" it against trespassers. This is contrary to traditional practice and causes considerable concern. The locals are thus prevented from traditionally unrestricted hunting across the land.

To the extent that outsiders are adaptable, accommodating, and willing to respect local ways they are welcomed and gradually accepted into the communities. In the words of

one local man if they try to be "good neighbors" then they are more readily accepted. If, on the other hand, they are "pushy" and try to tell the local people what to do, how to behave, or otherwise change the existing culture they meet with resistance.

c. Urban Escapees. Other people who fall into the new immigrant category include escapees from the problems of urban life. They come in to establish small businesses and enjoy the mountain surroundings. These people earn most of their living from the growing tourist industry. As the tourist industry grows, so grows the number and success of these new businesses. These new business people seek to participate in the life of the communities through service clubs, churches, and schools. In the process, they may well represent a reservoir of ideas and expansion concepts which support bringing in other new businesses, manufacturing, etc. They serve as "culture brokers," bringing ideas from one society and introducing them in another. As outsiders, they may remain marginal to the core of their mountain communities for several years. The very active real estate brokers may also be in this category, both as community members and as those who bring other outsiders into the communities. The attitudes and ideals of this category are mixed. With their urban backgrounds they tend to be preservationists. However, as they move into the mountains, they want the area developed enough to provide them with the services they are accustomed to having. The real estate brokers appear to want continued development with the inflated prices which accompany such development.

Jensie Harmon, of the GMPDC in Gainesville, described what she called the "Last Settler Syndrome." Each person seeking a cabin in the woods wants to develop his two acres to his liking but then stop all further development around him. He wants the area opened "far enough for me and no farther." It would appear that a Daniel Boone complex is recurring in 20th Century Southern Appalachia.

2. Temporaries. Temporary residents include retirees, second-home owners, and those who visit for even shorter periods: hunters, fishermen, and tourists.

a. Mobile retirees. These are retired persons who live in the mountains only during the "pretty seasons": spring, summer, and fall. Then they head south to Florida, Louisiana, Texas, or even California during the winter thus avoiding the nuisance of snow, ice, and heating bills. They may own houses, tow in travel trailers, or simply rent a "cabin" for several months. Their attitudes are similar to those of the new immigrants.

b. Second Home Owners. Another category of temporaries are urban residents of Atlanta and other areas who own or lease summer homes or second homes for vacation purposes. These homes may eventually become full or part-time retirement residences for the owners. Interest in such "escape" places near mountains or lakes has led to rapid expansion of the second home development industry. This has had both good and bad effects on the economies and cultures of the areas where they are located. As in the case of the retiree-second homes these residential developments become "pseudo towns."

There are actually few very large (150-plus lots) second home developments in North Georgia and most are not adjacent to National Forest lands. Many smaller developments are scattered throughout the mountain counties. These include Screamer Mountain, Sky Valley and Lake Burton in Rabun County, Skylake in Habersham, Big Canoe in Dawson and Pickens, and Bent Tree in Pickens. The Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission has provided the following tabulation in their area as of late 1973 (Table 1). Considerable expansion has occurred since that time, but no new studies are available at this time.

The North Georgia mountains contain several large hydroelectric power reservoirs owned or controlled by Georgia Power or the Tennessee Valley Authority. These provide some recreation for resort developments. A number of resort developments have developed around smaller lakes and include golf courses, tennis, boating, swimming, and, in one case, winter snow skiing. Second-home owners purchase land, construction, maintenance, supplies, and other services from local developers and outside entrepreneurs.

Table 1

SECOND HOME SUBDIVISIONS

County	Total No. of Subdivisions	No. of Subdivisions with 150+ Lots	Approx. Total No. of Lots
Banks	0	0	0
Dawson	20	3	4037
Forsyth	56	14	9023
Franklin	16	5	3548
Habersham	4	2	1730
Hall	10	8	4293
Hart	81	4	5508
Lumpkin	3	3	1827
Rabun	24	4	2118
Stephens	20	5	3504
Towns	20	1	1845
Union	3	0	120
White	16	16	7174
Total	273	65	44727

Sources:

1. Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission, Information obtained while reviewing second home subdivisions required by the Georgia Land Sales Act.

2. Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission, Research Report on Second Homes in the Georgia Mountains Area, Unpublished report, Gainesville, Georgia, 1973.

3. Huff, Bill, Urban Planner, Gainesville-Hall County Planning Commission, Gainesville, Georgia, personal communication.

4. LeRoy, John, Resource Manager, Lake Hartwell, U. S. Corps of Engineers, Hartwell, Georgia, 1973.

Used by permission of the Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission. From SURVEY AND ANALYSIS OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT OF LEISURE-ORIENTED RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENTS, Table 6, p. 30, January 1974, Report No. GM-PD-02-74.

The second-home owners become directly involved with the lifestyle of the local permanent residents when they "post," or restrict access to their property. This restricts access to portions of the lakes or National Forests near their homes. The heavy use of highways and streets in summer and fall makes transportation and communication more difficult for both outsiders and locals. Having their social interests in the cities, and using the second homes only as retreats, outsiders may have little interest in or understanding of local people or institutions.

c. Tourists. Also transient are the tourists or occasional weekend hunters and fishermen who visit either rarely or occasionally. These visitors flow through the area on a series of major and minor corridors. Most of these roads lead outward from Atlanta. These routes are being improved and are bringing greater numbers of visitors to North Georgia each year. The tourists are important customers in some of the shops and stores and at fruit and vegetable stands. They spend a relatively large amount of money in short periods for food, lodging, and supplies. In late summer and fall many towns stage mountain festivals featuring crafts and produce of the area as well as antiques and goods from elsewhere. These fairs bring in large numbers of tourists and outside visitors. The financial returns to the individuals and the communities from such activities are considerable but do not provide year round income sources.

d. Sportsmen. Frequent hunters, fishermen, hikers, campers, and the like do not spend as much time in the restaurants and motels as do the tourists. However, they spend more time in the woodlands and along the streams and lakes. These visitors may come from anywhere but the majority seem to come from around Atlanta and southward into Florida. The discovery by avid hunters that deer are plentiful on the Oconee has led many of them to abandon the mountains for that area. Trout fishermen are still found in great numbers along mountain streams during the trout season.

Owners of off-road vehicles such as cycles, jeeps, and dune-buggies bring their vehicles to the mountains to challenge themselves, their vehicles, and each other on the steep, muddy tracks. Many of these ORV owners come into the mountains from the outside areas. But some are local people who buy their vehicles ready-made or modify Volkswagons to suit their styles and purposes.

Other short-term users of North Georgia forest areas include campers and hikers. For the most part these are outsiders from the urban areas. They value unspoiled vistas and undeveloped areas around the Appalachian Trail. They are concerned that as much of the public lands as practical be preserved in its "primitive" state.

B. The Armuchee. While there is some differentiation in the Armuchee Valley country between the locals and the outsiders, the social distinctions appear to be organized on an economic basis. This is partly due to the influence of the carpet and related industries. Some individuals and families have risen from the middle and lower classes to millionaire status within one or two generations.

1. Upper Class. This group includes people from three origins. First is the old landed families of northwest Georgia, who have diversified their investments to maintain themselves at or near the top. A second group is the "carpet millionaires" who may have begun in other fields but, with luck and business acumen, managed to become owners and operators of major carpet companies. The third group is outsiders who have come in to operate textile or support industries. It is said that the Dalton area has more millionaires per capita than anywhere in the country. Whether strictly true or not, this reflects some of the local thinking and pride in this "home grown" industrial complex.

The size of the Upper Class does appear larger than the norm for the north Georgia area. The Upper Class members own large homes, some on the ridgetops overlooking the surrounding valleys, and participate in the social and political life of Dalton, Chattanooga, and Atlanta.

They tend to seek their summer recreation around the marinas near Chattanooga, Lakes Lanier and Allatoona. In winter they ski either in the eastern or western mountains. This group reflects a cosmopolitan outlook. Their children tend to attend prestigious schools. A few (perhaps two dozen) large scale, mechanized farms, sawmills, and construction companies also provide sufficient base for their owner-operators to participate in this socio-economic class.

2. The Middle Class. This group is proportionately smaller than would be expected for the overall population size. It is composed of college-trained managers, educators, clergy, small businessmen, and middle-level managers. A large portion of this group are outsiders, from Georgia and elsewhere. Local people who leave for college educations, tend to stay away. They take jobs in Atlanta, Chattanooga, or well out of the area. Local provencialism dictates that young people stay in their local area. However a shortage of jobs for the college trained people has forced them "out of the nest."

Schooling in the Armuchee is limited to Vocational-Technical and Junior College courses. Outside influences, like television, broaden horizons and provide stimulation to seek job opportunities outside the area.

Recreational use of the National Forests in the Armuchee District tends to be mostly by the middle and lower classes. Such use includes hunting, fishing, hiking, and camping. Favorite areas are advertised by word of mouth from family to family. These folk may also be seen along the highways towing bass boats to the lakes and reservoirs for weekend fishing. Increased gasoline prices tend to limit the frequency and length of such trips. Most of the use of the National Forest recreation areas has been from the north end of the Armuchee District. As the southerly areas are developed and the roadways are improved, greater activity will probably come from the Rome-Atlanta directions.

3. The Lower Class. The vast majority of the population in the Armuchee area falls at the lower end of the Middle Class and in the Lower Class. These are the part-time farmers who spend their days in the mills. Some tend to take off from work on the first day of hunting season. Others are frustrated enough, from time to time, with the confines of mill work, to take off for short periods outdoors. The "facts of life" however, dictate the necessity of shift labor. The core of the mill worker population originally lived in the company-owned milltowns scattered around Dalton. After the conversion from the hand-made tufted chennille bedspreads, which were frequently cabin crafts or home industries, the mills began to expand. Mechanization, and subsequent development of the tufted carpet mills have increased the size, economic importance and number of employees in the modern mills. The bedspread and carpet industries were traditionally low-paying occupations which hired a high percentage of women.

In the recent past, plant employment was such that workers could pick and choose their jobs. If they were unhappy with one position they could leave and find work in other plants with little difficulty. As the recession began to worsen in 1978 the housing market began to decline, and with it, carpet manufacturing. The result of the continued market decline has been layoffs and closing of some mills. This throws some of mill workers onto the unemployment rolls and others into alternative pursuits.

Statistics for Dalton-Whitfield and adjacent counties show that the population is predominatly white with only 5-6% black. A portion of the blacks (perhaps half) work in the various mills and other related occupations. The student body at Dalton Junior College reflects the general population. About 2-3% of the students are black. The surrounding counties have somewhat lower percentages of blacks. These blacks usually live in small rural communities such as those near West Armuchee and Oostanaula. As hunters and fishermen, blacks prefer the dispersed recreational activities. They seldom use developed areas such as Pocket and Hidden Creek Recreation.

C. The Piedmont. The area of this study includes Oconee National Forest lands and adjacent portions of Greene, Jasper, Jones, Morgan, Oglethorpe, and Putnam Counties. These counties are located south and east of Atlanta, south of Athens, and north of Macon. The area is served by local, State, and Federal highways. This includes Interstate 20 which runs between the two segments of the Oconee Forest and Interstate 75 which connects Atlanta and Macon. These six counties have similarities in population density, land use, economic development, and culture.

There are four or perhaps five areas or topics of special concern around the Oconee. These are (1) the recreational areas of Lake Oconee, Lake Sinclair, and Lake Jackson; (2) the rural farming and ranching areas; (3) the towns of Monticello, Eatonton, Greensboro, Union Point, Madison, and the county seats of the surrounding counties: Covington, Jackson, Forsyth, Macon, Gray, Milledgville and Athens; (4) Atlanta citizens likewise recreate in this area. (5) Another topic for treatment in this socio-economic overview is the black community, which makes up a large percentage (around 40%) of the population of Piedmont counties.

The social organization in the Piedmont area is somewhat different from that in the mountains. This is due primarily to its historic background as an area of intensive cotton plantation agriculture. The "Permanent" and "Temporary" designations used in the mountain areas are not quite as important here. However the influx of hunters, fishermen, and tourists using the forests and lakes and second home owners from Atlanta, Macon, and South Georgia produce increasingly seasonal effects on the economy. Lake lot occupancy is expanding due to efforts by Georgia Power Company and private developers.

Most sociologists of this area agree that Georgia still has a caste-class social system among the permanent residents. Without going into great detail, four social classes may be seen in this area: the aristocrats, the upper middle class, the lower middle class, and the lower class. These are described below.

1. Aristocrats. The aristocrats are the wealthy descendants of the original white settlers in Central Georgia. There are relatively few of them left but they make up the bulk of the large non-corporate private landowners. They are involved in banking and/or the timber business. They have relatively strong effects on the political and social scene in the area and have ties to the major urban areas. Their children attend private schools (the academies).

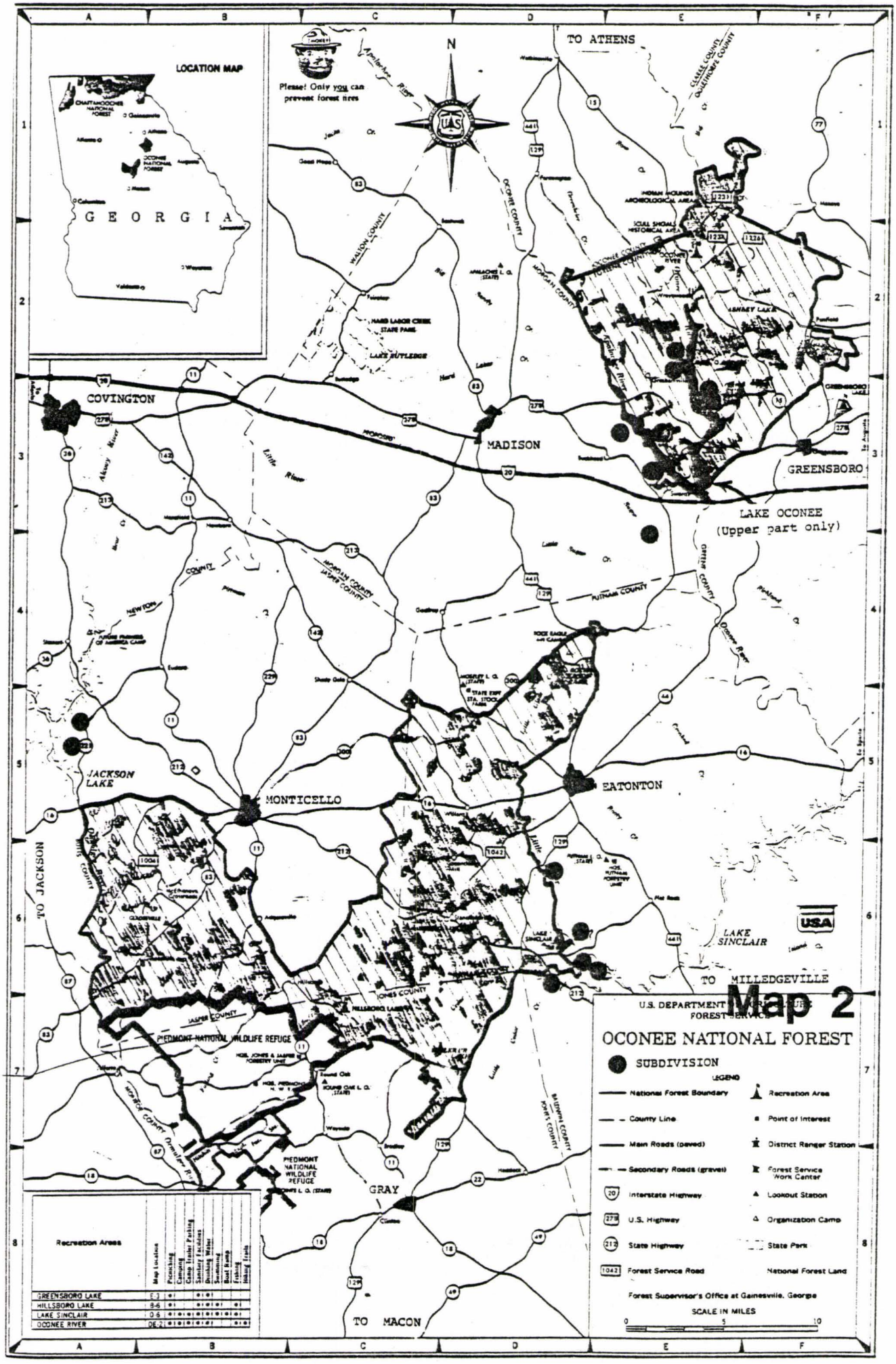
2. Upper Middle Class. Two sub-groups can be seen within this class, the larger being composed mostly of local white business people. This is an influential group in local businesses and various plants. There are a few black teachers, clergy, and businessmen also in this group. The second portion of this class are the outsiders. These are industrial supervisors and managers who have been moved into the area by their companies. They tend to participate in the civic and community affairs, service clubs, etc., with the local people. Children of these groups would primarily attend academies.

There is a growing number of second-home owners from Atlanta, Macon, and South Georgia who are settling around Lakes Oconee, Sinclair, and Jackson in highly developed residential subdivisions (Map 2). Many permanent lake home owners commute to Atlanta, Macon, Athens, or elsewhere to work.

3. Lower Middle Class. This is one of the larger economic groups and includes mill and factory hands, as well as a number of small business owners and farmers. People in this category place their children in public schools due to the high cost of private schools. The plants in the area provide primary employment for this group. The racial communities tend to maintain themselves apart in this economic group, although their children attend classes together.

4. Lower Class. This group includes some whites but is predominately black. These are the laborers and "welfare people" who have a relatively poor education and background of poverty. The antagonism between races in the lower middle class and the lower class is still evident from time to time.

Whereas many of the plants provide employment for large numbers of laborers, many of the recent graduates from local public high schools are looking for better jobs than are available there at present. Both young blacks and whites are seeking what one interviewee called "collar and tie" jobs. This situation is analogous to that occurring in the mountain counties.


LOCATION MAP
GEORGIA
Please! Only you can prevent forest fires
TO ATHENS
COVINGTON
MADISON
GREENSBORO
LAKE OCONEE
(Upper part only)
MONTICELLO
JACKSON LAKE
EATONTON
LAKE SINCLAIR
TO JACKSON
TO MILLEDGEVILLE
TO MACON
GRAY
PIEDMONT NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE
HARD LABOR CREEK STATE PARK
LAKE RUTLEDGE
Map 2
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FOREST SERVICE
OCONEE NATIONAL FOREST
SUBDIVISION
LEGEND
National Forest Boundary
County Line
Main Roads (paved)
Secondary Roads (gravel)
Interstate Highway
U.S. Highway
State Highway
Forest Service Road
Recreation Area
Point of Interest
District Ranger Station
Forest Service Work Center
Lookout Station
Organization Camp
State Park
National Forest Land
Forest Supervisor's Office at Gainesville, Georgia
SCALE IN MILES
0 5 10
Recreation Areas
Map Location
Picnicking
Camping
Camp Trailer Parking
Sanitary Facilities
Drinking Water
Swimming
Boat Ramp
Fishing
Hiking Trails
GREENSBORO LAKE E-3
HILLSBORO LAKE B-6
LAKE SINCLAIR D-6
OCONEE RIVER DE-2

FOREST SERVICE TIES TO THE PUBLIC

Historic Background

Perhaps the best presentation of the relationship of the Forest Service during its evolving years to the general public in Georgia is that prepared by retired Forester N.B. Alter. The following historic observations are based on his paper.

Following the 1911 Weeks Law authorizing the acquisition of land for National Forest reserves, land was purchased in the North Georgia area. The majority of the land was acquired during 1912-1940 with many changes in shapes and names of the Government-owned areas. The Chattahoochee National Forest was established by Proclamation of the President in 1936 with a gross area of 1,165,000 acres. An additional 250,000 acres was added the next year forming the Armuchee Purchase Unit, principally through the efforts of Miss Beulah Shropshire of Summerville. She sought to provide a measure of fire protection for Taylor Ridge and similar areas in Northwest Georgia.

The Hitchiti Experimental Forest in Jones County, on the Piedmont, became part of the National Forests in 1937. In 1964 it was incorporated into the Oconee National Forest. The majority of the Oconee was originally acquired as Land Utilization areas in 1935-39 and was administered by the Soil Conservation Service until it was proclaimed as the Oconee National Forest in 1959. Hunting has been a major recreational attraction in the Oconee area since its first acquisition. These woods were stocked with deer, beaver, and turkey during the late 1940's and early 1950's and Wildlife Management Areas provided some control over hunting in those habitats. The construction of Lakes Sinclair and Oconee has increased recreational use on the Forest. Feldspar mining and pasture lands, both under permits, are also important aspects of the Oconee National Forest.

Popular reaction to the Government acquisition of lands now within the National Forests was generally quiet according to Alter. He surveyed a selection of newspapers published during 1913-1933 in North Georgia and found no significant comments either pro or con. Alter did note that there was approval of the road construction and improvements in big game hunting brought about by the Forest Service.

However, there is a "residual resentment" of Government acquisition lingering from that era. This appears to stem from gradually escalating land values.

There was some early concern by county officials over the loss of land from tax rolls. This concern remains to some extent today despite payments in lieu of taxes made to the State for each county containing National Forest land. During the first two decades of this century people moved off the poorer farms since their land was both exhausted and eroding away. Ownership then went into the hands of the large landowners, especially to timber companies who further cleared the upper mountain slopes by the late 1920's. They held large tracts of unimproved property which paid little into the tax coffers. An interest has risen, especially within the past 20 years, in the development of mountain tracts for second homes, resort homes, and businesses. Thus, the now-booming real estate industry looks at the National Forests as land being withheld from development.

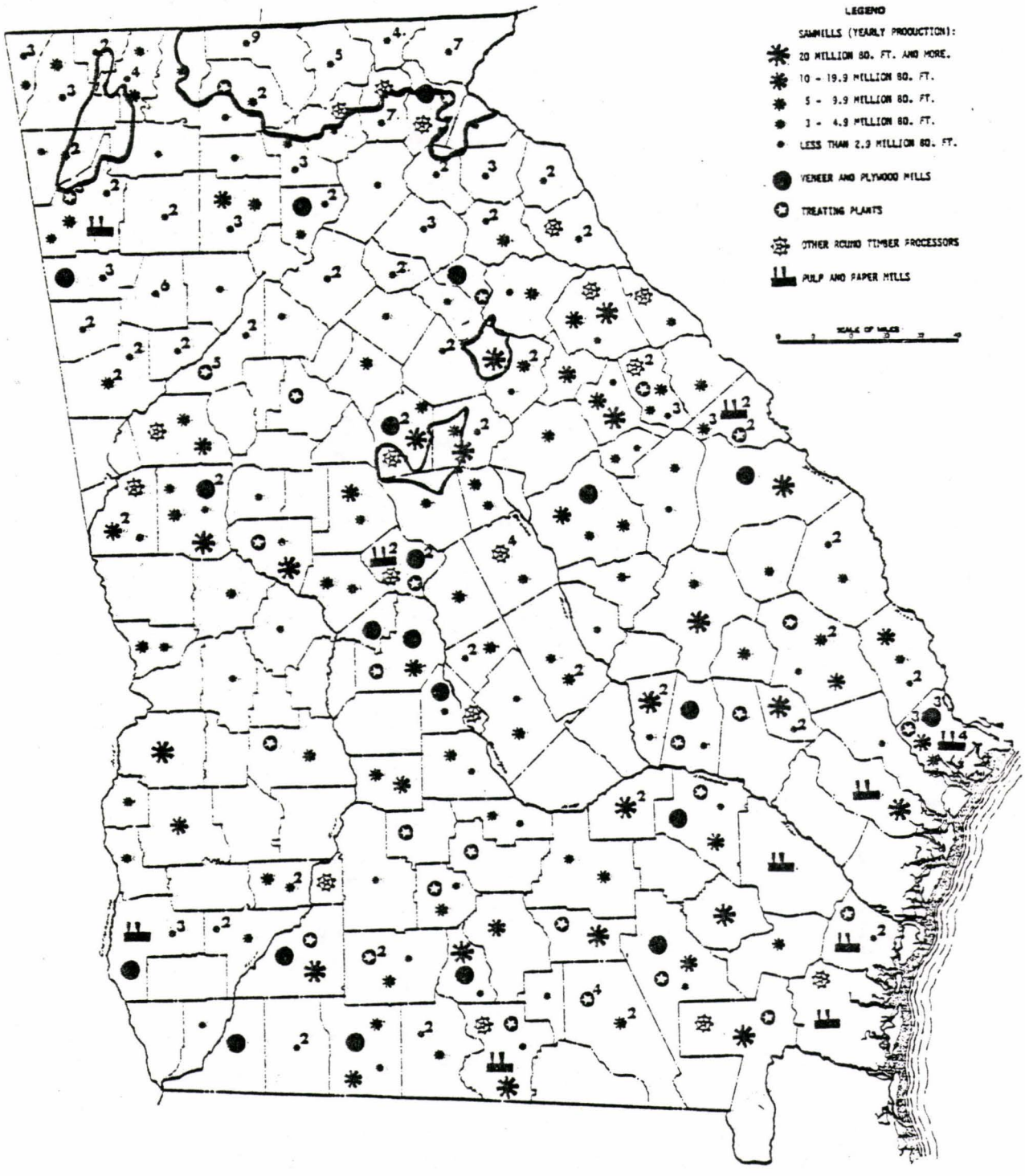
The economies of the communities in the North Georgia mountains were heavily influenced by the large lumber industry around the turn of the century and up through the mid 1920's. The end of the major harvests in the late 20's signalled the closing of some of the largest mills in the country and dismantling of small rail lines which transported timber to them. When these mills were closed, the towns around them, such as Helen and Robertstown, subsided into relative obscurity. Only within the past 10-15 years has local interest in promoting tourism revived the Helen area.

Timber Today

Since the acquisition of the lands by the Government the lumber industry employment and income there has been relatively low in comparison with the era of the big logging company operations. Several large mills have continued to operate in adjacent areas of North Carolina and the mill community in Ellijay continues to thrive, although with relatively little lumber cut from NF lands. Mills in Alto, West Armuchee, Chatsworth, Morgantown, and Clarkesville cut most of the timber harvested from National Forests and adjacent private lands. National Forest lands provide 10-15% of the total timber cut in North Georgia annually (1971 is most recent survey). Most of this timber goes into production of lumber, furniture, and various hardwood products, such as cross-ties and barrels. Since modern mills cut larger amounts of lumber with fewer personnel the overall effect of the industry on the mountain economy today is relatively limited (Map 3).

On the Oconee, the lumber companies are much bigger. Six or seven large companies cut from their own and National Forest land bases. The larger companies, such as Williams Brothers, International Paper, Georgia Kraft, and Georgia Pacific have several hundred employees each in the area.

LOCATION MAP OF THE WOOD-USING INDUSTRIES IN GEORGIA


LEGEND
SAWMILLS (YEARLY PRODUCTION):
20 MILLION BD. FT. AND MORE.
10 - 19.9 MILLION BD. FT.
5 - 9.9 MILLION BD. FT.
3 - 4.9 MILLION BD. FT.
LESS THAN 2.9 MILLION BD. FT.
VENEER AND PLYWOOD MILLS
TREATING PLANTS
OTHER ROUND TIMBER PROCESSORS
PULP AND PAPER MILLS

Map 3 GEORGIA ROUND TIMBER PROCESSORS, 1975

Source: Paul M. Butts and Wesley L. Wells, Jr, 1975. Wood-Using Industires in Georgia, A Utilization Report and Directory. Macon: Georgia Forestry Commission.

Four or five other companies have 35-75 employees each. The majority of Forest Service timber harvests in Georgia are made in the Oconee. These are, however, only 10% of the total timber harvested in those counties according to the 1971 survey. This data also reveals that National Forests represented only 11% of the commercial forested land in those five counties.

In order to offset possible losses in revenue from National Forest land within individual counties annual payments are made to the State for disbursement to the counties. The amount of these payments vary by county and consider the acreages in the county, receipts, and county population. Thus payments are higher on the Oconee where the timber sales are greatest. The county commissioners are aware of the fact that the very presence of the National Forest lands in a county will bring in outsiders for recreation who also spend money within the county.

Forest Service Employment

A major socio-economic tie between the Forest Service and people in counties where Forest Service land occurs comes through direct Forest Service employment. While payrolls vary considerably from season to season, the numbers of employees on Ranger Districts range from 20 to 40 in the winter and rise in summer. Annual budgets for each Ranger District for fiscal years 1979 and 1980 have been around a million dollars including contracted work. A large portion of the operating budget remains within the communities each serves. Thus there is a definite local economic impact, and with it, the social impact of related jobs, services, and taxes.

The Supervisor's Office in Gainesville, while having only office management activities in the Hall County area, currently has around 70 employees in winter and 90 in summer. The winter figure represents mostly permanent employees who live in Gainesville and Hall County. Of these, 65% are professionals, administrators, senior technicians, and clerical people. The size of Gainesville and the number and diversity of industries there make the relative contribution or influence of the Forest Service on the community less important than is the case in Clayton, Clarkesville, Chatsworth, Monticello, Blue Ridge, Blairsville, LaFayette, or Dahlonega.

Recreation

The most important relationship between the National Forests and the population of Georgia, particularly the northern half of the State, is through recreational uses of the Forest. Hunters, fishermen, campers, hikers, birdwatchers, jeep and motorcycle riders, picnickers, canoeists, inner-tubers, sight

seers, and many other people enjoy the forests and streams. There is very little direct financial involvement on the Forest, since there are few services for which charges are made, compared with commercial concerns. People do sometimes travel considerable distances to use the Forest, and spend money in the surrounding communities en route. Vacation (second) homeowners account for a large part of this recreational use and their contributions to the local economies around the Forests are dealt with elsewhere in this report.

To provide an idea of the quantity of contacts the general public (from whatever sources) has with the Forests, the following figures are suggestive. During 1979, there were approximately over 1.6 million visitors on the Chattahoochee and nearly 300,000 on the Oconee.

A number of environmental groups are active in Georgia. They are primarily concentrated in the Atlanta area. Members of the major organized groups such as the Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, and the Georgia Conservancy number around 7,000 with about 75% of their membership in the Atlanta area. The difficulty of assessing numbers for these groups is compounded by the fact that individuals may be active or supporting members of several groups. Additionally, some environmentalist groups conduct outdoor activities (either individually or as social events) and contact their elected officials through letter writing campaigns. Others stress one type of activity over others. Numerous small groups support or promote special interests, projects, or concerns. Schools and churches both within and from outside the state organize day trips and longer visits for hiking, camping, and nature outings. While certainly not all members of these groups can be described as "preservationists," much of the response to public involvement efforts from such groups has been so oriented.

Some Socio-Economic Effects

The permanent residents, whether they are mountain folk or new immigrants, by virtue of living close to the Forest make somewhat more direct and frequent use of the Forest resources. Thus Forest Service actions may affect them more quickly or directly. As mentioned above, some are employed directly by the Forest Service. Drastic changes in Forest Service hiring practices would directly affect this group.

Many local residents frequently use Forest lands for hunting, fishing, camping, and hiking. An expansion or contraction of accessibility in these areas would directly affect their lifeways. Restrictions (closings) of roads which have been used traditionally by local people to get from place to place might be seen as a threat to their freedom of movement. Although results are unclear, studies elsewhere in southern Appalachia suggest that a direct relationship may exist

between frustration with big government by some traditional locals and the occurrence of arson fires in the forests.

Firewood, long used in the mountains for heating, has traditionally been thought of as their free right to be taken from the Forest with little restriction. The recent demands by outsiders for free fuelwood has cut into that available for local people. This has been seen as an infringement by outsiders on what has been traditionally thought of, correctly or not, as "their" firewood. Several conflicts between locals and outsiders have been reported. The situation became acute on the Chestatee District during Fall, 1980, so that it was necessary to designate separate gathering places for "locals" and "outsiders" to get fuelwood.

Any drastic changes in timber cutting practices would likely affect the livelihoods of small family-run logging concerns who cut timber under contract to the larger mills. In the mountains these are white-owned and relatively few but in the Oconee much of the timber is cut this way. In some cases the small loggers are black-owned businesses.

There is some local concern with scenery and timber cutting practices. However, the largest outcry about the preservation of scenic areas and limitations upon timber harvests (i.e., clearcutting) for that reason has come from the "outsiders."

The outside, temporary visitors to the Forests are concerned with the availability of a wide and varied choice of recreational possibilities. They are increasingly demanding the accessibility of free firewood areas on the Forests especially as the commercial prices for firewood climb.

Conflicts have arisen with locals over use of the scenic rivers by increasing numbers of whitewater canoeing enthusiasts. The visitors also appreciate a certain amount of accessibility to the Forest itself. They desire roads and trails to get into the back country areas with their cars, trucks, jeeps, motorcycles, and dunebuggies. The growing accessibility of all National Forest lands via the developing system of Federal and State highways such as GA 400, under construction, has allowed more outsider visits each year. In addition to increased tourism and tourist dollars, the increased tax base due to increases in industrial development are seen as advantages to the area following such highway construction.

The expansion of the National Forest holdings since 1912 has tended to increase the isolation of the locals from one another, concentrating them in some mountain valleys somewhat more than they were before. However, within the past generation, and especially within the past 10-15 years, the expansion of the highway system and the entry of the small factories into each county seat has tended to ameliorate the

isolation. Local people are, for the most part, becoming amalgamated into the national culture by way of television which is now available in most of the isolated communities. The programing which they receive comes from the nearest major metropolitan areas: Atlanta, Macon, Athens, Chattanooga, Greenville and Spartanburg. In the places where cable TV is available, urban areas much farther away, such as Chicago and New York, will have direct effects on local thought.

Open-pit feldspar mining in the Oconee Area is part of the general ceramic-related mining complex in the Georgia Piedmont. Feldspar is the aplastic material mixed with white kaolin clays to manufacture such ceramic items as bathroom fixtures, white cooking ware, and space vehicle nose cones. One major feldspar mine operates on National Forest land under a permit. The mining company currently employs about 50 persons. The large open area appears to benefit wildlife, and thus hunters, as the turkey population increases around it.

Pasture lands occupy a small portion of the Oconee National Forest. The grazing allowed on these lands is important to the individual farmers utilizing the acreage. Available pasture is vital to the important dairy and beef-cattle industry in this part of the State. Dependable, long-term permits for grazing are needed, even though this may not represent the most cost-effective use of potential forest land. Since the production of milk, milk products, and beef are important priorities for other aspects of the U.S. economy, certain adjustments can be made to allow grazing. The suggestion is not that forests be cleared for pasture but that pasture land not be converted to forests where the demonstrable need for range exists. An examination of Oconee APDC figures showed that the value of livestock and livestock products far outweighed all other farm products produced in the area in 1964.

SUMMARY

Chattahoochee Descriptors

A. Existing and Future Publics

While there are a number of sub-sets within the list of "publics" presented in previous pages, two major groups seem to predominate in the Blue Ridge Mountains. These are (1) Permanent Residents: the Mountaineers, "Florida People," and Urban escapees; and (2) Temporaries: the Mobile retirees, Second Home Owners, Tourists, and Sportsmen. In the Armuchee area, the groupings are more by social classes: Upper, Middle, and Lower Classes.

B. Settlement Patterns

The settlement pattern of the traditional mountaineers, and to some extent the newcomers, was dispersed. Vestiges of this pattern continue to the present day. However, as the population has increased, people are becoming more crowded. Newcomers, particularly the permanent and temporary retirees, tend to cluster together in new communities and around existing ones. They are in fact beginning, as one local informant suggested, to "bang elbows with one another." It is becoming crowded here, as it was in the places some of them came from in Florida and Atlanta.

To some extent the social boundaries of the North Georgia mountain communities are frequently coterminous with their physiographic boundaries. The counties are somewhat more arbitrarily drawn but still tend to follow the ridge tops. The communities, both county seats and smaller hamlets, are located in the valleys along a river or stream. They include, besides scattered residences, a church, a store, and in the past a school and a post office. Sometimes these were combined with the school classes being held in the church building and the post office being located inside the store. With the consolidation of schools in the 1950's, and consolidation of post offices and development of rural routes in the 1950's and 1960's, the post offices and schools no longer serve as foci of these communities. Today, the churches and at least one small general store remain to serve dwindling populations. Many such communities are dying out since the people who lived around them are moving into larger towns to be nearer the mills where they work. Although there has been some recent re-occupation on the upper slopes and ridges in North Georgia, the vast majority of the occupation ceased near the end of the 1930's. Today the Forest Service manages many ridges, while rural population is concentrated in the lower valleys. Farming areas, so valuable in the past, are used today for truck gardens, pasture land, and poultry houses.

Mountain counties on the northern and southern slopes are differently oriented. Valleys drained northward by the Toccoa, Nottely, Hiwassee, and Little Tennessee Rivers were traditionally more isolated than those on the south slopes. Isolation of the northern counties resulted in slower economic growth for those counties. Most socio-economic orientation today is toward Atlanta, southward over the passes. The new GA 400 mountain highway is expected to open much more of the area to tourist and economic development. This has both advocates and resisters within the mountain communities.

Development should continue as the mountain highways are expanded in the near future. Of interest is the concept of "up county" and "down county." In Union, for example, "up county" means toward the south, or uphill. "Down in the lower part of the county" means toward the Tennessee border, since drainage there is northward.

In the Armuchee area, socio-economic orientation tends to be (1) toward Dalton, the largest employment center in the area; (2) toward Rome to the south; and (3) to the Chattanooga metropolitan area. Interstate Highway 75 from Dalton to Chattanooga provides ready access to the city. It also connects to Atlanta but until recently was not easily accessible.

C. Work Routines

In the past, work routines were primarily oriented to a farmer's schedule. Most of the population now is oriented toward a 40-hour industrial work week with additional commuting time as necessary. The majority of working age adults in the mountain communities work in one or another of the small industries: textiles, carpets, apparel, and small electronics, and electrical parts. The commuting time required for these employees to reach work from home ranges from 10 to 60 minutes. The plants are primarily clustered around county seat towns such as Clayton, Blue Ridge, Blairsville, Dahlonega, Dalton, and Chatsworth.

The local business offices and services have fairly standard 9-5 schedules, staying open on Saturdays and closing on Wednesday afternoons. This is a traditional time schedule for southern town centers.

Farming as a part-time occupation for many rural people does not provide a major source of income or food but provides additional food. The extra produce is sold along the road or elsewhere. The mountains have been praised as excellent areas to grow rich vegetables. Farming work takes place after mill hours and on weekends and holidays. It is also carried on by family members who are not working.

Since about 1935, the poultry industry has developed into a major source of income in North Georgia. Many mountain valleys contain two or more large chicken houses, raising broilers, fryers, or eggs for the large commercial packers in Hall, Dawson, and Cherokee Counties. The poultry business has allowed a number of the farm families to retain their land and farm lifeways.

In the early 1970's changes in Government regulations on the care of animals closed many "substandard" poultry houses and caused financial problems for the owners. However, the industry has continued to flourish at the same way that row-crop farmers have had to expand to larger, expensive operations in order to make a living.

A fourth type of routine found in the mountain communities is that of the retiree. This has not been sufficiently investigated. Most of them are not in fact employed so their time is relatively free for traveling, fishing, hunting, and enjoying the outdoors. Those who are employed may be involved in such things as real estate and the small crafts/businesses mentioned above.

D. Communication Networks

The communication networks do not vary much from community to community. Some of the communities do not have local radio stations so they depend on neighboring communities to provide their local news by radio. Weekly newspapers serve most of the communities. Some communities have two or even three newspapers serving them. The Atlanta newspapers as well as those from Chattanooga, Anderson, and Gainesville, also provide a certain amount of information. The daily television coverage from Atlanta, Chattanooga, Greenville-Spartanburg and other adjacent areas provide a steady coverage of outside and state news. For day-to-day gossip and idea exchange the local cafes, feed stores, general stores, filling stations, and courthouses provide a ready outlet. Civic and social service clubs such as Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Jaycees, and fraternal organizations provide additional regularly organized communication and activity centers. The city and county recreation departments also provide social interchange, including special programs for juveniles and senior citizens.

E. Support Services

Support services for these communities are also quite similar from community to community. The local clinics and county hospitals provide medical services in almost every county seat. The medical centers in Gainesville and Rome do some referral service.

Emory Hospital in Atlanta and Talmadge Memorial in Augusta serve as major referral hospitals for most of North Georgia. There is also some use of medical services in Greenville and Chattanooga. At one time the medical and shopping facilities in Murphy and Franklin, North Carolina, also served in this way. They are less attractive now since most facilities are available in Georgia county seats. The civic clubs mentioned above provide social service outlets for community support as do 4-H, FFA, and FHA in the high schools. The churches are by far the most important single aspect of community life. They voluntarily provide economic, social and religious support for their members in time of need. As several people commented, "when we hear about somebody with a problem, we just go help 'em."

The churches are almost entirely protestant, predominantly Baptist and Methodist, with a number of smaller sects. There is one area around Chatsworth, Ellijay, and northward into Tennessee, where there is a concentration of Seventh Day Adventists. Small groups of Jehovah's Witnesses can also be found in the mountains.

F. Recreational Activities

The major recreational activities indulged in by North Georgia mountain people are not organized. They frequently prefer to utilize the dispersed recreational facilities of the National Forest and private lands. Activities include hunting and fishing, camping, hiking, boating, and skiing. Water skiing is done on the lakes and snow skiing at Sky Valley and adjacent areas of North Carolina. Organized recreation includes team sports in schools, churches, and plants. County and city parks and recreation departments provide playing fields and organization for local leagues for all ages. They also provide various types of recreation for senior citizens such as trips, picnics, and parties.

The recreational activities of the outsiders make the largest impression on this area. The numbers of people coming into North Georgia specifically for recreation are impressive. They are the ones who make heavy demands on facilities, particularly in the developed recreation areas. Most of the hunters, fishermen, campers, hikers, etc. come from Atlanta and other areas within 100-200 miles. Locals who travel for vacation say they leave the State going to Florida, Arizona, New Mexico, or Calfornia.

The following six descriptors are economic indicators for the Chattahoochee.

G. Population Change

An examination of the population statistics for North Georgia counties shows a general fluctuation of population through

the past century. A reduction during the Depression continued through the 1940's as people moved into cities in search of jobs. Only within the last 15-20 years has population begun to increase, based on the discovery by industry of the advantages of locating in the North Georgia mountains. These industries include textiles, carpets, and garments. They are usually non-polluting small industries which hire both women and men. In the garment industries the largest portion of employees are female. These are locally called "sewing plants." Population statistics available from the Bureau of the Census and the Area Planning and Development Commissions (APDC's) indicate a gradual trend in population increase of 11 to 14 percent over the period of 1950 to 1970. It was predicted by various APDC analysts that these trends would continue at about the same rate of increase. The 1980 Census data is not totally secure, but preliminary figures indicate drastic population increases in the mountain counties between 1970 and 1980. The increase for Habersham County, for example, was predicted to be about 14.5%. According to figures released in mid-September 1980, Habersham County increased 20.9%. The data in Table 2 are from the Census Bureau, as published in The Times of Gainesville, Georgia, on Sunday, March 15, 1981.

An examination was made of population profiles and demographic trees for population changes in these counties over the last 20-30 years. There has been an increase in older people and a definite loss of younger people (high school through age 35-39). They have been leaving in search of work and this has had two effects on the population. It has meant a loss of those particular age groups in the community as a whole. Since these people represent the primary reproducing age group, it has also meant a reduction in younger people and a reduction in school enrollments. Within the last 10 years this trend seems to be reversing in many instances. More people are staying in the community, increasing the population by their own presence and their offspring.

Another source of population increase appears in census figures. That is a noticeable increase in numbers of older people, retirees age 60-80. This group represents the "Florida people." Some second home owners are also retirees but not registered voters or permanent residents and therefore not included in the population counts. The actual numbers of these older people in the area for 8 to 9 months of the year is considerably higher than the Census figures would indicate. However there are no accurate figures for this fluid portion of the population.

Migrations away from the mountains are now gradually reversing. A continuous migration exists within the mountains as people move to and from job centers. County seats serve as foci for plants with people commuting within and across county lines to work.

An example of the commuting patterns can be seen in Fannin and Gilmer Counties. The core includes Ellijay, Cherrylog, Blue Ridge, and Copperhill, Tennessee. From Cherrylog on Highway 76 between Ellijay and Blue Ridge there is a "commuting watershed" south into Ellijay. North of Cherrylog, commuter traffic flows into Blue Ridge. A large percentage of the plant employment in Fannin County is oriented to the Cities Service Corporation's mines and acid production plants around Copperhill, Tennessee. This Copper Basin industry has a long history of employing mountain people. It is not reflective of the more recent rise of new industries in this area.

TABLE 2

PRELIMINARY CENSUS REPORT *

CHATTAHOOCHEE COUNTIES

COUNTY	1970	1980	INCREASE
Banks	6,833	8,702	27.4%
Catoosa	28,271	36,991	30.8%
Dawson	3,639	4,774	31.2%
Fannin	13,357	14,748	10.4%
Forsyth	16,928	27,958	65.7%
Gilmer	8,956	11,110	24.1%
Habersham	20,691	25,020	20.9%
Hall	59,405	75,649	27.3%
Lumpkin	8,728	10,762	23.3%
Murray	12,986	19,685	51.6%
Rabun	8,327	10,466	25.7%
Stephens	20,331	21,763	7.0%
Towns	4,565	5,638	23.5%
Union	6,811	9,390	37.9%
White	7,742	10,120	30.7%
Whitfield	55,108	65,780	19.4%

* Final Certified figures from Census Bureau, as reported on March 15, 1981, in The Times, Gainesville, Georgia.

In each community interview, there were a few individuals mentioned who drive over the mountains to the manufacturing and poultry centers around Gainesville. Other long-distance commuters go to the Atlanta-Marietta area where the Lockhead plant and others have provided employment for many years. In some cases commuting is weekly. A group of males will commute to Atlanta or Marietta, stay there for the week working in the plant, and return to the mountains for the weekend with their families. This economic resource is less important now due to the growth of factories in the mountain communities.

H. Employment Mixture

The concept of employment mixture looks at the distribution of employment by industry: manufacturing, business, government, finance, insurance, real estate, and services. In the last 20 years there has been a notable growth in manufacturing, in the service group, and in tourism. At the same time, a decline occurred in farming, forestry, and fisheries. This group now represents 3% or less of the employed people in a given county. Employment for the 13-county Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission Area averaged about 53.5% employed in manufacturing in 1975. In the same report, agricultural services, forestry, and fisheries amounted to less than one percent of total employment for the GMPDC Area.

Retail trade totaled 16.6%, services 10%, finance, insurance, and real estate totaled 3 1/2% with transportation at 4%, and contract construction at 6%. An examination of the actual employment figures for the 13 county area indicated the percentages of manufacturing employment range from 82% for Banks County to about 40% for Forsyth County. A notable exception, Towns County, gets only about 7% of its income from manufacturing. The two major employers there are services with 32% and trade with 27%. Towns County is the least industrialized county in the Georgia Mountains (GMPDC) Area. Dawson County with the lowest population receives about 70% of its income from manufacturing even though very few plants operate there.

The service group of employment statistics has grown markedly in the last 20 years due to expansion of factories and real estate interests. The real estate segment is growing dramatically. One need only drive through the Georgia mountains to be impressed by the clusters of real estate land sales signs. Talks with traditional inhabitants indicate that land is being sold at phenomenal rates compared to prices in 1950. This situation is not unique in North Georgia. Hicks noted similar price escalations in western North Carolina. In a recent article in U.S. News and World Report, Chaze noted that "Until developers began arriving in large numbers fifteen years ago, land often sold for $150.00 an acre and an entire mountain could be bought for $5,000....Land is now so expensive in the Southern Highlands--as much as $5,000 for an acre lot with a view--that few natives can afford to buy.... Available factory jobs in this part of Appalachia are non-union, and are mostly paying the minimum wage."

I. Wage Structure

The data on wage structures for this report comes from the Area Planning and Development Commissions, the Georgia Department of Industry and Trade, and the Labor Department.

Wages in North Georgia are generally low compared to national averages and about par for the southeastern United States. Wages are rising due to several things, including national inflation, yet still fail to keep up with rising costs, according to all sources.

Historically there was a low level of economic productivity in the mountain areas and the first efforts towards change were during the post-depression period when the Government introduced relief programs. Federal standards of income and employment place most mountain people in the have-not category and completely ignore the historical fact that this was a "live at home and do without economy."

This area long had an interest in basic education and families saw to it that their children could at least read and write. A limited number of individuals would proceed to high schools and colleges outside of the area. Development of this interest led to the establishment of several small colleges to serve mountain young people. Each community was served by a community (grammar) school until State school consolidation in the 1950's. Schools were then concentrated in county seats. This improved the range and quality of the education provided. The result is a raising of the educational standards for the mountain country as a whole. The majority of industrial jobs initially were for unskilled and semi-skilled laborers who could sew or run other machines. This provided employment for both women and men and required a relatively low educational level. The textile industry has historically provided an early lead in the employment of women. This situation has improved somewhat in recent years. Within the last two decades changing desires and needs have been stimulated by television. There has also been a higher level of education achieved with each passing decade. This in turn tends to change people's outlooks and aspirations. It may soon be the case that the factory jobs available, as they require little education and pay low wages, will not be sufficient to satisfy the people. They will not be able to hold better educated young people whose aspirations go beyond a 40-hour work week in a factory with no windows and in constant contact with the noise and demands of production machinery.

J. Local Labor Supply

Most of the mountain labor supply is employed in the mountain counties. The result is that commuting time is relatively short, 30 to 45 minutes at the most. There have been observations by various of the individuals who were interviewed that "the county is losing its youth" to jobs in Gainesville and Atlanta. This may in part be the "go see the big city" concept but it is true that there is still not quite enough employment for all those who finish local high schools.

Local employment does fluctuate somewhat, depending upon national and regional recessions or advances. As an example, in an October 1980, telephone interview, with Jack Prince, Vocational Counselor at Rabun County High School, he noted that in the past students tended to stay in Rabun County. A new plant and adjustments in others were sufficient to handle graduates who wanted jobs. It has become harder in the recent recession for the plants to take all who want jobs.

College-bound students represent about 25-30% of the Rabun County graduates and another 20-25% go to vocational and technical schools in the general area. Presumably the others who go on to work do so without further training. Some 40 of his students are on early release programs so that they work in the afternoons after school. About 80-85% of the juniors and seniors (perhaps some of the same students) are working at summer jobs in the tourist industry.

Rabun County is unique in that it has two major tourist seasons. The one which affects most of the mountain communities is the summer, extending into the "Leaf Season," terminating about November 1. In Rabun County, since the establishment of the Sky Valley snow skiing community near Dillard, there has been an influx of tourists in the wintertime seeking to snow ski. In 1980, this possibility was closed to non-members of the Sky Valley Association. As a result at least one group is currently developing snow skiing for enthusiasts in the general public. The most recent construction is at Scaly Mountain, just across the State line in Macon County, North Carolina. This type of operation (Sky Valley and Scaly Mountain) provides weekend employment for local students and nonstudents in support of this booming winter tourist industry.

The local labor supply is reasonably balanced in terms of numbers of population according to the APDC statistics. Following Georgia Department of Labor data, the balance of experienced and inexperienced labor available is slightly in favor of the males. There are just under one-third more males than females available for work in the Georgia mountains. However, many of the employment opportunities for females are working in the sewing plants. Male employment is involved in the carpet mills and other small industries.

Within the Georgia Mountains Area there are a number of junior colleges and four year colleges which serve the area. North Georgia College in Dahlonega, Piedmont College in Demorest, and Toccoa Falls Bible College in Toccoa, provide four-year education, as does Brenau College in Gainesville. Junior colleges include Emanuel College in Franklin Springs, Gainesville Junior College in Gainesville, Truitt-McConnell College in Cleveland, Young Harris College in Young Harris, Georgia. Two vocational-technical schools are also located in Northeast

Georgia, the North Georgia Technical-Vocational School at Clarkesville, and the Lanier Vo-Tech School near Gainesville. Other schools located in the western part of the State include Dalton Junior College, Reinhardt, Berry, and Shorter Colleges, and the Vo-Tech school in Jasper.

K. Economy

The Georgia mountain area has been in a sense a colonial economy. For many years it was an extractive situation in which timber, farm produce, or moonshine were produced here and sold outside. Today local industries provide income and produce in the form of chickens, eggs, cloth, carpets, clothing, and electrical devices. Tourism and the increase in real estate prices have made major changes in standards of living. The cost of living for an individual family is still unanimously reported as "way too high" in comparison with incomes. However tourism and industry are helping to ameliorate the situation. Roadside stands selling vegetables, fruit, honey, antiques, and "junque" dot the highways during the tourist seasons. The county fairs, which were originally local-interest events, have grown to the point where they now draw thousands of tourists each summer and fall. This has also helped to alleviate the recession.

Whereas the timber industry was of major concern in the past, it is no longer so today. The output of the timber business in the Georgia mountains area affects only a small percentage of the population, perhaps ten to twenty-five individuals being employed in each county. Exceptions to this are the three lumber businesses in Ellijay, a large mill in Alto, one in West Armuchee, and another north of Chatsworth.

Despite efforts by Elliott Wigginton, editor of the Foxfire series from the Nacoochee School, craftsmanship is a dying art. As Chaze (in Newsweek) quoted Wigginton, craftmanship is now in the hands of the elderly and "the best part of Appalachia may die with them." Chaze further quotes Jim Branscome of Sevierville, Tennessee, "In a few short years we shall be like the Cherokee chief standing on the roadside, trying to get someone to take our picture for a quarter to make a living." This is an expression of the common fear that Appalachian culture is dying out in the surge of outsiders seeking resort space in Appalachia.

Median family incomes are comparatively low. In the more industrialized Stephens County the 1976 median family income was $10,700, an increase of 48% over 1970. On the other hand, median family income for Towns County, the least industrialized county in this area, was only $7,100. Neighboring Union County families earned only $6,800 in 1976. Per capita income of Stephens County in 1975 was $3,871, that for Towns was $3,054, and for Union, $3,454. More industrialized Banks

County had a per capita income of $4,078 in 1975 and a median family income in 1976 of $8,100.

In the western part of the state, the per capita income in 1973 for Gilmer County was $3,082; Whitfield, which includes Dalton, was $4,578. The median family income in Whitfield in 1970 was $8,289 and Murray County was $7,762. Gilmer County in the same year had a median family income of only $5,736; and Fannin, $5,704. For the same year (1970), Georgia's median family income was $8,167. See also the per capita income and population figures in Table 3.

In Northwest Georgia the picture has been similar to that in Northeast Georgia. The carpet industry is almost alone as the major employer. It provided jobs for 23,561 out of 46,655 employed persons in 1975. Within the last few years, however, the textile and apparel industries have also been generating important numbers of manufacturing jobs. Today's huge carpet industry developed from the tufted bedspread cabin industry of a generation ago. Now most carpets purchased throughout the U.S. are manufactured in North Georgia, with the center in Whitfield and Murray Counties, in the greater Dalton area.

L. Carrying Capacities of Government Services

Local and State Government services include such things as schools, water, sewage and garbage collection, and police and fire protection. The school situation appears adequate, following consolidation of the schools in the mid 1950's. The centralized schools were capable of providing a wider range of both educational, social, and athletic facilities. Increased education available to and required of the faculty has helped upgrade the schools also. The increased numbers of public and private higher education facilities, including vocational-technical schools, junior colleges, and 4-year colleges have helped a great deal. The out-migration from the mountains to the cities in the past made less demand upon the schools. Out-migration by people in the primary reproduction ages (18-45) reduced the number of people growing up in these communities. The situation now seems to be stabilizing. Immigration of retirement age people changed the shape of the demographic pyramid but has not affected the school situation drastically.

Other public services have felt drastic effects due to the population change in the last 10 to 15 years. Second-home developments, that is, organized communities of second-home or vacation home complexes around lakes, rivers and recreational complexes, have resulted in major stresses during the peak seasons on local water, sewage, and garbage collection systems. Police and fire protection likewise have been strained, and in some cases local lake owners' associations

TABLE 3

County Income Estimates 1970-78

	Total (millions) 1970	1978	Per Capita (dollars) 1970	1978	Population 1978 (Estimate)
			Chattahoochee Area		
Banks	14.9	37.4	2,193	5,128	7,300
Dawson	8.6	24.8	2,359	5,180	4,800
Fannin	29.1	64.8	2,164	4,380	14,800
Gilmer	21.9	57.8	2,420	5,082	11,400
Habersham	49.9	126.4	2,402	5,115	24,700
Hall	189.8	468.9	3,174	6.711	69,900
Lumpkin	18.4	45.4	2,098	4,520	10,000
Murray	32.2	101.3	2,458	5,842	17,300
Rabun	19.5	46.0	2,323	5,077	9,100
Stephens	54.4	128.0	2,660	5,618	22,800
Towns	8.8	22.3	1,896	4,446	5,000
Union	13.0	32.8	1,895	4,006	8,200
White	16.3	41.8	2,095	4,680	8,900
			Armuchee Area		
Catoosa	68.4	161.4	2,406	4,545	35,500
Chattooga	53.6	101.1	2,590	5,070	21,700
Floyd	249.9	530.8	3,374	6,734	78,800
Gordon	69.9	166.7	2,938	5,761	28,900
Walker	163.9	341.5	3,221	6,435	53,100
Whitfield	187.0	427.6	3,371	7,028	60,800
			Oconee Area		
Greene	21.2	53.2	2,088	4,879	10,900
Jasper	16.2	44.4	2,799	6,452	6,900
Jones	27.6	71.8	2,193	4,458	16,100
Morgan	26.4	65.4	2,651	6,413	10,200
Oglethorpe	16.2	40.4	2,139	4,870	8,300
Putnam	21.9	63.7	2,589	6,628	9,600

Source: Georgia Business Vol. 40, No. 6, pp. 8-9., November December 1980. Athens: University of Georgia, Division of Research College of Business Administration.

have attempted to provide some services. For example, the Lake Burton Homeowners Association, in collaboration with the Georgia Power Company, has provided a security patrol around the lakes. In that same area a volunteer fire department has been developed which is staffed from the neighborhood. In most cases the water, sewage, and garbage systems are under massive strain during the peak seasons but planning by city and county commissioners is not oriented toward those peak seasons. To do so would stretch their budgets beyond local capacity to support them. The Area Planning and Development Commission planners have frequently suggested the need to upgrade these facilities, if not to the peak loads, certainly to a much better status than they have at present.

These same water and sewage demands are beginning to affect planning in the Forest Service. For example, as the Sky Valley complex grows the number of houses there is expected to quadruple within the next 10 years. All of these houses will require water and sewage disposal of some form and the local watershed will come under a major strain. The watersheds above the development will need to be carefully managed to ensure a continuous supply of high quality water. Disposal of sewage from this development, whether with septic tanks or a central sewage treatment facility, needs to be carefully controlled. Poor placement or design of septic fields could contaminate ground water supplies. Improper treatment at a central site could result in pollutants entering surface waters, thus damaging downstream users.

Generally, city and county administrations are geared to local year-round operations at just slightly over the minimum level. They are now beginning to recognize the economic and social importance of the tourists, second home owners, retirees, and other temporary intensive users of available facilities in their counties. They are not as yet capable of efficently handling the large number of requests for services which come into their offices in the peak seasons. The problems are alleviated to some degree by the industries which provide services for themselves. The large percentage of the counties' taxes paid by industries helps in supporting services for the rest of the county.

The Georgia Power Company and the Tennessee Valley Authority provide the vast majority of the electrical power for North Georgia. The distribution of that power is handled by a number of Electrical Membership Corporations which serve several counties. Natural gas is only available in a few of the counties and those are located on the south slope.

Public water and sewage systems in the mountain counties are limited to urban, incorporated areas. The rural nature of most of the counties prohibits economical development of county-wide water and sewer facilities. Rural residents must therefore rely on septic tanks and wells.

Mountain transportation is via highway, as only four rail lines remain. Southern-Amtrak passenger and freight service connects Atlanta through Gainesville and Toccoa with South Carolina. Freight service also ties Atlanta to Chattanooga via Dalton. From this route other lines pass through Ellijay and Blue Ridge into North Carolina and through Chatsworth into Tennessee. A number of small local airports serve mountain counties. A few are paved and lighted, some are only paved, and more have unlighted turf runways. Service is for general aviation needs with major airline connections through Atlanta and Chattanooga. The highway system is basically a network radiating outward from (or into) the Atlanta hub. Although there is a network of east-west highways, they are narrow and carry relatively little truck transportation. There is now almost no mountain bus service. One area need cited in the North Georgia Area Development Program was improvement of east-west access. Another was the expansion of public transportation facilities and services.

Oconee Descriptors

The difference between the mountain communities and the Oconee will be described briefly in this section, following the outline of the lettered sections used above.

A. Existing Publics.

Social groups in the Oconee area are basically those described under the Cultural Description section for the Oconee area. They include long time local residents, both white and black, and the outsiders who come to work or use the recreational facilities in the Forest and the lakes.

B. Settlement Patterns.

Settlement is basically rural and dispersed, with concentrations in the county seats. The mills and factories provide work in and around the various county seat areas.

C. Work Routines.

Factory routines operate one or two shifts per day. Manufacturing plants are dispersed throughout the area although Jones and Green counties have little industry. Many people in those counties commute to Macon or Warner Robbins to work and some Greene countians commute to plants in Athens. Big lumber companies and textile mills provide the largest percentage of employment for the area. Morgan County is considered the dairy center for Georgia and a number of individuals are employed in that industry. Farms in this area produce dairy products, beef, poultry and some row crops. Items produced in the area include textiles, apparel, aluminum trailers, trailer axles, furniture, seeds, concrete

pipe, wood stoves, PVC plastic pipes, bathtubs, and others. The textile and the lumber industries are the largest employers in the area. They produce cloth, clothing, lumber, paper pulp, and furniture materials.

There is little seasonal difference in job availability due to the continuous operation of the plants. Cotton is no longer important but other row crop harvests do provide some variation in seasonal labor. The lake use continues year-round but there is a marked summer increase. Facilities; including stores, filling stations, and marinas; located on or near the lakes provide goods and services for lake users. These open or increase employment during the summertime. The fall and winter hunting seasons bring in large numbers of hunters from outside the area. They come from all over the South but particularly from Atlanta, Macon, and South Georgia. Demand for ammunition, beer, food, other supplies, hotel, motel, and restaurant accommodations are heavy during the hunting seasons. This provides income and local employment.

D. Communications Networks.

Oconee area communication systems are similar to those in the mountains. The local cafes, general stores, filling stations, and courthouse steps provide sites for exchanges of gossip and news. Likewise, nationally organized civic and social clubs as Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and Jaycees are also active. In the black communities there are also a number of neighborhood improvement associations, lodges, brotherhoods, and social clubs which provide opportunities for social and service activities. Churches provide the most powerful community social networks.

E. Support Services.

In this area government and other support services are similiar to those in the mountains, involving the local clinics, welfare agencies, and local hospitals. Medical referrals go to the Athens, Augusta, Macon, and Atlanta hospitals.

F. Recreational Activities.

These can be divided into two major segments: those relating to: 1) Lakes Oconee, Jackson, and Sinclair, and; 2) the Forests, both public and privately owned. These are utilized by local people as well as by large numbers of outsiders. Fifteen lake subdivisions (Map 2), such as Turtle Cove on Lake Jackson, others at Lake Sinclair, and around Lake Oconee, represent the influx of Atlanta and South Georgia people. The majority of these people use the lakes for summer recreation but there is considerable year-round use.

The developments include not only a large number of homes but also golf courses, club houses, tennis, marinas, and the like.

Boating, fishing, swimming, and water skiing are all popular sports on these lakes. There are of course a number of permanent residences along the lakeshore lines. These homeowners work in the adjacent counties and/or commute to Atlanta, Macon, or Athens to work.

All privately owned land in the Oconee area counties is posted by law. Individuals entering such land must have the owner's permission to do so. Large tracts are owned by big timber and land companies who lease the hunting rights to hunt clubs for use exclusively by their members. This creates some trespassing problems when hunters on adjacent National Forest lands cross over onto this leased private land without recognizing the boundaries. Trespass laws in this area are carefully enforced and offenders are severely dealt with.

G. Population Changes.

Changes in the Oconee have been less drastic than in the Chattahoochee. This portion of the State had seen a fairly stable population with slight gains and losses over the last 30 years. These counties lost population until fairly recently when the entry of more industry alleviated the situation. New population figures (1980) in 5 Oconee area counties which contain National Forest lands show average increase of 20.1%. If Jones County, immediately adjacent to Macon, is removed, the increase is only 17% (Table 4). The population mixture contains a large black minority. 1970 census data showed 53.7% white and 46.3% black in the Oconee APDC. The detailed 1980 census breakdowns were not available in time for inclusion here.

H. Employment.

In this basically rural area, employment is almost entirely in industry, with the timber and textile industries as the growth leaders in employment. The trailer axle plant, plastics, aluminum trailers, and others provide the remainder of industrial employment. The produce of the farms is heavily oriented toward dairy and poultry products.

TABLE 4

PRELIMINARY CENSUS DATA
OCONEE COUNTIES

COUNTY	1970	1980	INCREASE
Green	10,212	11,318	10.8%
Jasper	5,760	7,229	25.5%
Jones	12,270	16,138	31.5%
Morgan	9,904	11,350	14.6%
Oglethorpe	7,598	8,885	16.9%
Putnam	8,394	9,915	18.1%

Source: Census Bureau figures provided through the courtsey of Congressman Ed Jenkins' office, Gainesville, GA, February 1981.

I. Income Distribution.

Income figures for the Oconee APDC (1970) indicated that 51% of the families earned less than $5,000 per year. Only 18% earned in excess of $10,000 per year. Preliminary estimates based on the 1980 census suggest that this has increased slightly due to inflation and population increase. Total employment projections for the Oconee APDC indicate a gradual change in the order of 10-16% over a 10-year period.

J. Labor Supply.

Labor figures for the mountain counties increased much more rapidly than predicted. However, the same information for the Oconee counties (1950-1970) indicated a gradual downward trend. Predications were for an upturn during the decade of the 70's which should continue into the 80's. In part this optimism was based upon the slowing of farm out-migration and the arrival of new industries to provide needed jobs. The expansion of lake-front development has also aided the economic and population upswing. According to one black interviewee, black out-migration has slowed considerably in recent years as local men find local jobs.

K. Input-Output.

Currently available data shows that most of the manufacturing jobs here involve production of goods from materials which are brought in. The primary exceptions are the timber and wood industry and dairy and poultry operations.

The development of industry in this area has been encouraged by the efforts of local citizens. When Monticello was in a depression some years ago, active local financial participation by many citizens, black and white, brought in the Dexter Axle Company. Later the Feldspar Mining Company also came in to provide additional jobs. One of the black interviewees pointed out that the black community in Jasper County had contributed over $7,000 to assist the arrival of Dexter Axle. As he put it "this city had died, but it just hadn't laid down and been buried." The townspeople themselves decided upon this plan of action and "pulled the town up by its boot straps."

L. Government Services.

Services provided by county, State, and local Governments are presently under a strain from the demands of the developments along the lakes and a general increase in population. This includes needs for roads, garbage collection, and law enforcement. The counties are not currently financed or equipped for this expansion. There will be additional needs for docks, ramps, and other recreation facilities as Lake Oconee develops. Law enforcement problems include people who trespass on private property; damage field fences; kill domestic animals; litter; cause fires; and tear up roads, fields, and pastures with 4-wheel drive vehicles. The damage to county roads results not only from hunters, fishermen, and other "recreators" but also from the extensive logging on the private and National Forest land.

Counties' incomes rely on taxes from large timber and land companies, manufacturing plants, and payments from the Forest Service in lieu of taxes. This is of greater concern to Jasper and Greene Counties than to Putnam County since Putnam has a large electric generating plant (Georgia Power Company) which pays a high tax rate.

Each of the counties has dual school systems made up of private academies which are all white and public schools which have black and white students together. The financial strain of supporting two school systems in these counties is considerable since tuition costs for private acadamies is quite high. The academy is seen as a viable, if expensive, alternative to a perceived lower quality education available in the public schools. It further helps to continue a legal form of racial segregation. Whether the education in the public

schools is actually of lower quality is often not really the issue. It is the perceived quality of academic and social experience which places many upper and middle class children in the academies.

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